India

FOR THE

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...ES AND NEWS.

...rrespondent telegraphs an account of ...influential meeting which has been held in ... protest against the proposed overthrow of ...cipal self-government in that city. We deal with the ...atter at some length on another page. Meanwhile a telegram and a leading article appeared in Wednesday's *Times* which throw an interesting light upon the methods employed to bolster up the Calcutta Municipal Bill. The Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, who must be presumed to understand his duties, has not thought fit to send home any account of the important meetings of protest against the Calcutta Bill which our telegrams have reported. But after the vague remark that "questions connected with local self-government are commanding special attention now owing to the Calcutta Municipal Bill" he proceeds to describe at length the misdeeds of the municipality of Agra. The inference which must in...itably have been suggested to English readers is ... are justified in Calcutta in view of ...f which the Agra municipality has ...erence has obviously been drawn by ...rs on the *Times*. For in the course ... begins with an unfounded attack ... and ends with praise of Christian ... he says in so many words that the ...oked at Agra "go far to confirm the argu...nat control by a central and impartial authority is ...tively required" in Calcutta.

...," as Mr. Squeers would say. For ...unicipality of Agra, as our readers ...enjoyed to the full the advantages of ...entral authority"—to wit, the Govern...y way of expounding the colossal and ...e blunder into which the *Times* has been ...ess of zeal, let us recall a "Note" which ...rs a fortnight ago:—

> ...hose who are engaged in the kindly task of with...al self-government from the Indians to ... the ...en every municipality in India had its official ... it so happens that six municipalities still possess ...guard, and of these none has been more praised in ...orts than that of Agra. As the *Pioneer* says:—"The municipal administration in Agra has thus been ...ed in the hands of the Government." It is therefore ...o find that following an adverse report by the auditor ...as failed to rise to the level of the duties imposed on ... allowed arrangements to continue which facilitated, ...ged, malversation of funds;" and is called upon "to ... why it should not be superseded for such time as the ...s may think necessary"—just as if it had some worthless ... chairman. The auditor had said that the "bankrupt ...f the municipality was mainly due to Government in its ...ygienic reform having laid on the town in sanitation ... burden heavier than it could bear." But if it had only ...dian chairman this would not have prevented its difficulties ...d to point the moral of the unfitness of the Indians for local ...rnment.

...wrote on December 30, little dreaming that though ...airman *was* official, the case of Agra would nevertheless be used "to point the moral of the unfitness of the Indians for local self-government." Yet this is what the *Times* has done. It has had the courage, ... the ignorance, to argue that the misdeeds of a municip...ity of which the official *Pioneer* is able to write that "the ...ntrol has been virtually retained in the hands of the Government" constitute important evidence that "control by a central and impartial authority is imperatively required."

Sir Antony M...Donnell, it need hardly be said, did not fall into this trap. What he said was that the deplorable state of affairs at Agra was due to "want of control *by* the municipality." If the *Times* will bring its intellect to bear upon the matter it will perceive that this is a different thing from want of control *of* the municipality. The point is of the highest importance, because the chief complaint against the Calcutta Municipal Bill is not that it continues a central authority in control of the municipality, but that it robs the municipality of its own subordinate control over its own detailed work. No Indian that we know of has ever written or spoken against the view that "control by a central and impartial authority is imperatively required." What is meant by local self-government in India is that, while the details of municipal work are left to the representatives of the ratepayers, general powers of control are reserved to the Government. The essence of the Calcutta Municipal Bill is to take away the details of municipal work from the representatives of the ratepayers and transfer them to an official clique among whom the representatives of the people will at best control only one vote in three. There is not only no justification for this reactionary and insulting measure, but it is well calculated to ruin the municipal administration of the capital of India by introducing precisely the evils which Sir A. MacDonnell attributes at Agra to "want of control by the municipality." The *Times*, we see, prefaces its abortive onslaught with the pious formula: "It is a complete mistake to suppose that the Anglo-Indian officials entertain any jealousy of the growth of municipal activity." If so, they can easily remove the mistake, not indeed by wearing broad phylacteries, but by behaving in a way precisely opposite to their present way.

The *Westminster Gazette*, which is understood sometimes to write things not greatly differing from what Lord Rosebery thinks, is anxious to persuade itself that all professing Liberals are unanimous about "Imperialism." How far it is likely to persuade others any habitual reader of its own columns and of the *Daily News*, the *Daily Chronicle*, and the *Manchester Guardian* can without difficulty conjecture. But even the "Imperialist" ought to live up to his creed, and the *Westminster Gazette* says (January 11):—

> Nor, because we want a business-like policy, is it to be assumed for a moment that we do not want a humane and a Liberal policy. On the contrary we owe the more support to such proposals as the Czar's for the cessation of armaments, and to any effort for improving the government of our dependencies, for securing liberty or relief from oppression to the weaker nations.

Well, how about India? Has the *Westminster Gazette* be... peculiarly ready to denounce the new law of sedition, the press prosecutions, the imprisonment of Indians without trial, and the overthrow of municipal self-government? On the contrary, so far as the naked eye can discern, it has been quite as remiss about these and the like matters, quite as

"let things slide," as the Tory journals. This ... of behaviour which encourages "faddists" and ... (like ourselves) to believe that the "Imperialist," ... matter which party he may choose to damage by his ... inal allegiance, cares more about the expansion than ... bout the decent administration of the Empire.

The *Saturday Review* is pleased with Lord Elgin. It blesses all his deeds successful and unsuccessful, popular or unpopular, with equal good-will. It even praises Mr. Gladstone for appointing him, considering that so excellent a choice more than compensates for his mistake in making Lord Ripon Viceroy. It seems that to be loved and trusted by the Indians is the worst testimonial a Governor-General can receive. Yet it might be asked, since our contemporary refers to the critical nature of the period of Lord Elgin's rule, whether India was not more contented under Lord Ripon than under the latest of his successors, whether there was not a greater reliance on English justice and greater readiness to give the Government credit for good intentions. And could there be a greater danger to the stability and good order of our Empire in India than the weakening of these feelings? Lord Ripon is still remembered with love and gratitude by those over whom he ruled; Lord Elgin will be soon forgotten, or remembered only by the calamities which marked his period of office. Lord Elgin, we are told, has known how to be "patient, silent and strong." Of his strength, unless it is shown by making railways or gagging newspapers, no proof is offered; but whether he has been strong or not, he certainly has not been silent. Has he not finished his Viceroyalty by the universally condemned tour in Burma, carried out apparently only that he might make speeches and receive congratulations? Fine work for one who is "silent and strong"!

It is admitted, however, that Lord Elgin's claim to be considered "a great Viceroy" must depend on matters of controversy—the Press Act (which the *Saturday Review*, unconsciously truthful, speaks of as "the Native Press Act") and the frontier wars. Frederick the Great, as the writer reminds us, ordered his men to paste libels on himself low enough for the people to read. It is the only safe rule in despotic governments, as he well knew, to allow full freedom of speech, for it is the only way a despotic ruler can know what his people are thinking. And this is more and not less necessary in India than it is in the West, because in India the rulers are aliens, who find it no easy matter to penetrate into the thoughts of the people, and must therefore neglect no means of discovering their real wishes. It is said, indeed, that tolerance of opposition is accounted weakness in India. Has the prosecution of Mr. Tilak by the Bombay Government raised the general opinion of its strength, or has it only had the effect of making Mr. Tilak a national hero? And this is the chief Press prosecution in India for many years.

The *Saturday Review* insists that our conduct in Chitral had nothing to do with the outbreak of the Pathan tribes. But by referring to the Durand Agreement as the real cause, it admits what has been so clearly shown by Colonel Hutchinson and others, that fear for their independence was the true motive of the Afridis. And if this was their motive, how could the occupation of Chitral fail enormously to strengthen it? How could such an object-lesson fail of all effect? Without denying that the Durand Agreement was the beginning of the evil, one may note that a long time elapsed between that and the outbreak. It was after and not before the occupation of Chitral that the Afridis began the war. It is easy to sneer at the supposition that "you can always be at peace with men to whom vendetta is the only serious business of life." It is a sufficient answer that for sixteen years these men faithfully performed their duties as our friends and allies. But the most extraordinary statement of all is the remark that Lord Elgin "can afford to abstain from insisting on a matter in which the vast majority of informed persons are of his opinion." Now as regards the frontier wars, so far from the vast majority of informed persons supporting them, the exact contrary would be the truth. The writer may indeed think that in a matter so vitally affecting India the opinion of the Indians is to be neglected; but he can hardly use that language of Mr. Thorburn and those who applauded him at Simla, or of the *Pioneer* and all the Anglo-Indian j... Indian and Anglo-India... the "forwards."

According to the *Pioneer*, t... Tibet to open up the co... awakened little interest in ... plans for a railway have not ... men of business who have ... jeeling, and can estimate ... vast cost of making a ra... passes. Moreover Major ... declaring that nothing was ... a military invasion of Tibet; all he ... Government should acquire the ... apparently by diplomacy, and ... gained to open up Tibet to ... suzerainty of the Chinese is a mere ... even collect a revenue. How then wou... their rights enable us to disarm the ho... and level the Himalayas? However, the North-eastern frontier are not ... Disappointed in raising enthusiasm ... adventure they now suggest that we mig... Bhutan. We might, so the plan goes, double the ... we now pay to the two Rájás if they would agree to as... us against Tibet in the future. If they would not agree we might stop the subsidy altogether, and force a passage through the State. To this the *Pioneer* replies that "Bhutan would probably be up in arms at once, and it is not an easy country in which to carry on military operations." It will not be for want of urging if the North-East frontier is not soon as troubled as the North-West.

The *Times of India* crows over the *Pioneer*, which, it says, has "taken exactly twelve months to convince itself that Birmingham rifles, sold in the Persian Gulf, have been finding their way into the hands of the frontier tribes." According to the *Pioneer*, "the Ghilzais who are makin... their annual migration down the Kurram Valley to I... are said to be particularly well armed this year, Ma... Henry rifles in large numbers being in their posses... The rifles are believed to have come ... Gulf, "through traders who have ... arriving from Europe and carried the... The *Times of India* estimates the P... rifles at 27,000 a year. The system ... in Persia at the instance of the ... carried out with vigilance and energy, ... serviceable for deterrence as well as for ... any case, the inherent difficulties of contro... insuperable.

In praising Lord Elgin and the Indian Govern... their success in dealing with the fami... forgotten that in the Central Provinces ... nearly describe what occurred, and fo... Government must bear its share of the ... *Champion* says:—

> Not only was there gross neglect at the capita... but also at the seat of the Central Government. ... the country cried itself hoarse on the subject, the ... ment was deaf to all outside complaints touching ... unpreparedness of those responsible in the Central ... was admittedly the severest famine of the century. ... self was not only misled, but deceived by his own abs... of the meteorology of the country. When thousand ... his lordship was coolly gazing through the railwa... luxurious saloon, well provided with rich stores of ... overhead for the passing ... which ... to bring rain but which never did. If the Lyall Fami... has justly criticised the policy of the authorities of the ... vinces, it ought not to have omitted to put on the G... India its share of the blame.

It is accounted an inexcusable blunder of Lord ... instead of visiting the most afflicted districts ... touched the outskirts.

Many of the Indian journals quote the censure ... by the Famine Commission on the famine relief m... in the Central Provinces. These measures, according ... Commissioners, were neither all that they should ... all that they might have been, the high Prov... authorities failing to grasp the gravity of the situ... with the result of a mortality appallingly high. It i... of the natural results of excluding the people from a...

share in the administration of India that the authorities are not in touch with the people; and when the authorities conspicuously fail the people are relentless in their criticism. The Indian journals point out that when Lord Elgin was in the Central Provinces in December, 1896, the Indian public begged him to relieve the suffering millions. But the Chief Commissioner complacently informed the Viceroy that there was only "a probability of distress," and the Viceroy himself said that he was "struck by the prosperous appearance of the country." So little do the rulers of India know the condition of the people.

The *Tribune* still continues its excellent work of rousing the Indian people to a sense of its national unity. It ridicules the ease with which the Hindus, the Mussulmans and the Sikhs of the Punjab allow themselves to be persuaded by the Anglo-Indians that they are three nations, although they inhabit a common fatherland, and are united by common interests, and, till they realise their unity, by a common servitude. The Hindus of Bengal and the Punjab even claim a kinship of blood, while of the races that can make no such claim all have been so long in India, sharing a common ill fortune, that they can equally claim their share of whatever awaits her in the happier future. The Parsees have been longer in India than the English have been in England; yet Anglo-Indians sprung from a race drawn from many strains and mixed of many peoples speak of them as if they were strangers in the land. In fact all the great nations of the West, English, French, German, Italian, have sprung from many different stocks. In the United States we can see the process actually going on. Yet who would deny that these were nations? This outcry of separate nationalities in India is only the old device of "divide and conquer" which the English have already put in practice with so much success in Ireland. As the *Tribune* well says, "If it were fully realised by all Indians that they were one community many of their troubles would be over at once."

The *Moslem Chronicle* regrets that the Mahometans of Bengal have shown so little interest in the proposal to turn Aligarh College into a Moslem University. It is even inclined to attribute this attitude to a lack of public spirit. But the *Tribune* takes a very different view. It is admitted that the Bengal Moslems are second to none in India in education, intelligence and zeal for the cause of Islam. The agitation seems to have as its chief aim the creation of a permanent barrier between Hindus and Mussulmans. Now nowhere do the two sections live "so amicably together as in Bengal; because the erroneous and mischievous idea of their being two separate peoples had never entered their heads." Ignorant Anglo-Indians may talk of a Hindu "nation," or Moslem "nation," or Sikh "nation," but for Indians to do so is to play into the hands of those who would divide in order to oppress them. It is encouraging to find the *Tribune* continuing its useful office of preaching unity among all races and religions in India; for thus alone can India advance in freedom and well-being.

In spite of all that has been done to mitigate the harshness of plague regulations, cases of hardship and suffering are continually coming to the notice of the public. According to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Babu Kamakhya Charan Sen, from near Dacca, recently came to Calcutta with his wife and five children, and placed himself in the hands of a well-known medical man. As he grew worse two other doctors were called in, and when he died they all three agreed that plague was not the cause and gave certificates to that effect. But some rumour of plague having reached the ears of a plague doctor he immediately warned the authorities. The widow being a stranger in Calcutta was anxious to return home with her children, but found that orders had been given to intercept her. She then turned to her father who dwelt in another village, but with the same result; and an uncle to whom she next applied was equally unable to receive her. Wherever she had relatives the authorities were on the watch. At last after some three weeks of weary waiting Dr. Green, Special Health Officer, was induced to investigate the case, with the result that he gave a certificate confirming that of the three doctors, adding, "I don't consider it necessary to have the family kept under observation." Yet the last news that has come to hand is that in spite of Dr. Green's certificate the quarantine at Murshidabad has not been removed, and it is even thought that the intervention of the Lieutenant-Governor may be necessary before this poor widow can return to her home!

Barrackpur is a dangerous place when British soldiers are about. Happily, in the latest case—that of a boy ten years old who received a gun-shot wound from a European soldier—there was no tragic ending. The magistrate found that the affair was accidental, and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* agrees with this view; but it is much to be wished that this careless handling of guns could be put a stop to. The *Patrika* thinks that the soldier should have been punished for negligence.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* cites two instances illustrating how justice is administered in India. Collins, a European apprentice in the East Bengal Railway offices, came to a third-class compartment reserved for the exclusive use of women, and according to the finding of the magistrate attempted to outrage two women. He was convicted and sentenced to one month's imprisonment, which the High Court of Calcutta has enhanced to eighteen months. Bhola Teli attacked a young lady and attempted to outrage her. He has been sentenced to imprisonment for twenty years and three months. The penal provisions of the Institutes of Manu are much condemned because they laid down one punishment for the Brahman and another for the Sudra. Those institutes were, however, meant for society [illegible] was two thousand years ago. Manu scarcely dreamt of their application in the present day.

Mr. Tilak's appearance at the Madras Congress appears to have created the utmost enthusiasm. The following passage from the *Indu Prakash* should be read by the admirers of panic prosecutions:—

> By his heroic conduct last year and the almost stoic courage with which he went through the terrible mental and physical tortures to which he was submitted by a foolish and panic-stricken Government, Mr. Tilak has earned for himself the undying gratitude and sincere love of his countless countrymen. The very hatred and revengefulness of his enemies must have been half disarmed by the sturdy independence of Mr. Tilak's character and the sublime nobility of his soul. How much more then must be the admiration and respect which his countrymen must feel for him. The importance of his services to his country does not lie in the fact of his having fought nobly and suffered patiently, but in the more significant fact that he has set an example to his countrymen of to-day and to generations yet unborn as to what should be the ideal of those who would fight for their country's cause. Such an example was sadly needed. For had there been no man last year to face despotism with patriotism, contumely with patience, and a spirit of vengeance with resignation, British statesmen in particular and the British race in general would have mistaken the signs of the times and failed to find out the sterner stuff of which Indian statesmen can be and are made.

This is without doubt the feeling which the prosecution of Mr. Tilak has excited all over India. He has become the national hero of the day, and the Government is believed to have been inspired by "despotism," "contumely" and "vengeance." A defeat and disaster in the field of battle could hardly have lowered the "prestige" of British rule more than this fatal blunder committed in panic.

With regard to the appointment of Mr. Justice Strachey to be Chief Justice of the North-Western Provinces, the *Indian Nation* remarks: "The people must have 'affection' for the Government even when it makes the most extraordinary appointments, otherwise they will be guilty of 'disaffection' according to Mr. Justice Strachey's ruling."

An Indian correspondent writes:—Every endeavour to revive the declining industries of India deserves encouragement, and the step taken by Mr. N. R. Bose, District Magistrate of Rajshahi, in establishing a school of sericulture, merits the highest praise. Mr. Bose made enquiries into the condition of silk-culture in Rajshahi soon after coming to that district, and was satisfied that it was possible to revive the industry. With his well-known energy he raised a sum of thirty thousand rupees by public subscription and started a school where lessons on sericulture are given. The Director of Agriculture under the Government of Bengal has lately visited the school and has spoken highly of the cocoons reared under the auspices of the institution.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL BILL.

ON September 2 last we printed a telegram from our Calcutta correspondent, announcing that a representative meeting of over 4,000 men—"an immense gathering of Native residents and ratepayers," even the Anglo-Indian *Englishman* called it—had "strongly condemned the withdrawal of the Calcutta Corporation's control over the executive, and prayed either for the withdrawal of the Bill or for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry." On December 30 we printed another telegram announcing that on December 27 "a crowded and enthusiastic meeting," attended by "the marwaris (influential merchants and bankers), tradesmen, and other ratepayers of Calcutta," had adopted "a memorial against the proposed new constitution of the Calcutta Municipality." Last week, in a further telegram, our correspondent reported another public meeting which, under the presidency of Mr. R. Mitra, condemned the principle of the Bill and made special representations with reference to the assessment provisions in it. And to-day we print in another column a telegram from our Calcutta correspondent announcing that on Monday last (January 9) a fourth meeting, "largely attended, enthusiastic, and representative," was held in the capital city of India, to enter yet another protest against the obnoxious Calcutta Municipal Bill. At this last meeting Dr. Lall Madhab Mukerjea, Rai Bahadur, presided, and men of substance and of influence—"large ratepayers, including Indian merchants and tradesmen"—took part in the proceedings. The main resolution adopted by the meeting was framed as a "protest against the unusually rapid progress of the Bill before the Select Committee." This "rapid progress" is an invariable concomitant of all measures that rouse public antipathy; and the "unusual" degree of the rapidity is a natural indication of the strength of the disfavour manifested by the people of Calcutta. The meeting did an important public service in calling attention specifically to the suspicious haste of the Committee, and it is to be hoped that the significance of the procedure will not be lost upon those who follow Indian affairs at home. The meeting also adopted "a memorial in reference to the building sections of the measure," which touch details of far-reaching local importance. Whatever may be the results of these influential meetings, they have at least one emphatic advantage: they leave the Government in no shadow of doubt as to the mind of the people of Calcutta on this mischief-making Bill.

"The constitutional part of the Bill," wrote the Assistant-Secretary of the Indian Association in reply to the Bengal Government's invitation of an expression of the Association's opinion (see INDIA, Dec. 16, 1898, p. 322), "is undoubtedly the most important, and one in which the most serious departure from the present law is observable." The Bill, as we have already pointed out, creates three co-ordinate authorities, independent of each other, and responsible to no higher authority: the Chairman, the General Committee, and the Corporation. As the Indian Association justly represents, "nothing shows the revolutionary character of this Bill in a more striking character than the fact that the importance of these authorities under the Bill is in the inverse order of their importance under the existing law." The Corporation is thrown down from its supreme position in its own house, and relegated to an undistinguished corner. The experience of America supports the conclusion of the Committee of the Indian Association, and of all unprejudiced observers, that such a triplex authority will render the Act unworkable. The General Committee is to consist of 12 members, only four of whom are to be representatives of the elected commissioners and the general body of ratepayers; and the 12 members take the place of 18. Everybody is agreed that there ought to be an adequate representation of the European element of the city; but when it is recognised that the Hindus and the Mahometans between them hold the bulk of assessable property in Calcutta and pay the bulk of the rates, it does seem a grotesque idea of self-government to assign them four representatives out of 12. The Indian Association also enters a strong objection to the election of members of the General Committee in four electoral divisions. If only four men are to be elected it becomes specially important to get the best men available. But the electoral divisions based on territorial considerations restrict the choice to local men, "to the exclusion of those who may be really more qualified."

A stranger cannot but be curious to understand the inner significance of all this gerrymandering. From the "Statement of Objects and Reasons" (INDIA, October 21, 1898, p. 209) we learn that the original impulse to legislation arose from the necessity of "enabling the Commissioners to recover license tax from certain companies which now escape payment," and of "supplying an omission in section 237 of the Act which renders it impossible for the Commissioners to exercise effective control over rebuilding and alterations in buildings." Here is an example of what great things may develop from humble beginnings. Now we have a Bill that makes a goodly volume in 11 parts, 42 chapters, and 668 sections, with a tail of 20 schedules! But—

> since the amendment of the law in respect of these points was decided on, facts were brought to light in connexion with the alarm of plague in Calcutta which showed that the town was in a terribly insanitary condition, and that the present constitution of the municipality is ill-adapted to stand the strain of a grave and sudden emergency, and fails to secure the prompt and continuous executive action which is necessary in view of the fact that the sanitation and conservancy of the great Indian maritime cities has now become a matter of international concern.

Now all this anxiety for the health of Calcutta is admittedly laudable. But then it is also admitted that, notwithstanding some ugly spots, much like what are discernible in all other great cities, not excepting London itself, the city of Calcutta has been converted by this inculpated Corporation "from a city which, from a sanitary point of view, was a scandal to a civilised administration, into a city which is one of the healthiest in India, to which," says Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, "our countrymen flee in hundreds and thousands, driven from their malaria-stricken homes in the Mofussil, as to a health-resort." Mr. A. M. Bose declared the same opinion at the recent Congress; Mr. Romesh Dutt has borne like testimony; and the stream of favourable opinion is continuous and influential and irrefragable down through the whole 22 years' history of self-government in Calcutta. Listen to Sir John Woodburn himself, speaking at the opening of the Session of the Bengal Council a few weeks back on the work of the present popular delegates:—

> They are entitled to all the credit—and it is a high one—of realising the value and necessity of the great schemes which have been drawn up for their approval, such as those for the drainage of the city and the construction of the Harrison Road. They have not shrunk from the heavy taxation which was needed to bring these beneficent projects into effect; and I myself had evidence of the high public spirit and laborious circumspection which many members of the Corporation bring to the discharge of their municipal duties.

If this be so, what can be the reason for the change? Why should these eminently public-spirited and laboriously circumspect members be swept away to make room for European members at Rs. 32 for attendance? Undoubtedly there was still room for improvement, but the remedy lies in another direction. In the first place, as the Indian Association has pointed out, the real weakness of the executive is the fault of the Government alone. "If the executive is weak," wrote the Assistant-Secretary, "the Committee have no hesitation in saying that it is due much more to the *personnel* than to the system, and that nothing better than a weak executive is to be expected when the executive is frequently changed, for since 1889 there have been no less than six chairmen of the Corporation. Surely it is most unreasonable to condemn a system for faults for which it is in no way responsible—the appointment of chairman being made by the Government." We are not aware that this criticism has been met, or can be met. And in the second place what is wanted is money; not administrative talent or assiduity, but hard cash. You cannot pull about a great city without paying for your whistle. We know something of that in our own cities in these islands. And yet Sir John Woodburn tells us that these Corporation gentlemen doomed to be cashiered for incompetence "have not shrunk from the heavy taxation which was needed to bring these beneficent projects into effect." There is more in this problem than the obvious merits of the case.

Sir John Woodburn seems to have been placed in a cleft stick by Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Mr. Ripley. He cannot but see that the whole history of the Corporation, viewed in the light of the common experience of great cities, exclaims against the monstrous injustice of this scheme. He cannot but know that the special dread ex-

cited by the approach of plague has been completely falsified by the actual measures adopted and enforced—a falsification that has justified the Corporation. He cannot but feel that these great and representative popular meetings have intimated in loud tones the grave impolicy of the measure. He has indeed had the grace to promise a couple of small yet useful concessions; and he has admitted that the new scheme "does convey a slight," where he has as much as said that no slight is justified. Not for a moment can he in his own mind believe that such a slight is a wise, any more than it is a just, reward for admittedly faithful and effective administration. May it not be hoped that he will yet be able to save his own reputation by devising some honourable and conciliatory accommodation between his Council and the people of Calcutta in response to the strong, reasoned, and earnest representations of the many remarkable popular meetings of the citizens? Whatever he may do or omit to do, this outrageous attack upon municipal self-government in Calcutta merits the earliest attention of the House of Commons. We commend the matter to the good offices of the new Liberal leader in that House of Parliament.

GOVERNMENT BY BASTILLE AND ITS VICTIMS.

THE *Champion* has done well to issue in an accessible form the correspondence of Sirdar Balvant Ramchandra Natu with the Bombay Government; for it gives us an insight into his sufferings which cannot fail to arouse the sympathy of the reader, while it shows the high-handed and even illegal actions which marked the conduct of the authorities. It is a commonplace that English justice has been the strength of our Empire in India. The unbiassed judgments of the courts, the devotion of the magistrates, the confidence of the people have been acclaimed by all the admirers of English rule. Nor has a contrast been wanting in the conduct of other Governments; and the Indians have been called upon to thank their good fortune that they were not subject to the Russian methods of imprisonment by administrative order. Pharisees have praised their God that the justice of the Queen Empress was not like that of French courts-martial, where documents could be used against a prisoner which he had never seen and to which he was allowed no reply. Yet in British India, where British justice was thought to have so honourable a record, two prominent citizens have been imprisoned by order of the Government, without any formal charge and without opportunity of defence, on evidence which has never been imparted to them and which they have had no opportunity of refuting. No attempt has been made to show that they had any concern in the disturbed state of the country. Profound tranquillity now prevails. Yet they are still detained, if not in prison, yet under irksome and insulting restrictions. Such is British justice in India at the end of the nineteenth century.

It has been mentioned in these columns as an aggravation of the treatment to which the Natus have been subjected that various and contradictory charges have been made against them. At first it appeared that they were suspected of complicity in the Poona murders. They were questioned concerning those crimes soon after their arrest; and the belief that this was the cause of their imprisonment was confirmed by some remarks of Lord George Hamilton. But for these murders another man has been convicted and executed without, in the opinion of the magistrate who tried the case, there being any evidence of a conspiracy, while the Government by shifting their ground have practically acknowledged the innocence of the Natus in the matter. It is difficult to imagine anything more painful than the feelings of the two prisoners, publicly branded as murderers, knowing that the accusation was being spread throughout India, and yet without any opportunity of meeting the foul charge. It is evident that so serious an accusation should not have been brought without very good grounds. It would have been only fair formally to withdraw it as soon as it was seen to be untenable. Yet we find Lord George Hamilton soon afterwards putting forward two entirely new reasons for the detention of the Natus, and that without the slightest apology for the much more serious charges that had been made against them. The new reasons were, first, an interference with a lady doctor, whereby her practice as a midwife had suffered, and, secondly, the suborning of a policeman to bring a false accusation against a soldier engaged on plague duty. Both have been denied by the Natus, and they were on the face of them insufficient to justify the prisoners' detention. The Natus were detained under the Regulation of 1827 because, in the words of the Government order, the "Government thought it necessary to place them under personal restraint for the better security of a part of her Majesty's dominions from internal commotion." But subornation of perjury is surely a crime that can be dealt with by the ordinary law; and how can either an unsuccessful attempt at subornation or an interference with a midwife's practice be held to threaten a part of her Majesty's dominions with internal commotion, or to justify so outrageous a measure as the imprisonment without trial of two citizens? As to the ridiculous charge relating to the midwife, which ought to be enough to enlighten the public on the baseless character of the Government case, there is one aspect which should not be passed over. The midwife in question had been involved in a lawsuit with the Sirdar Natu, and had lost her case. It opens out a terrible vista of injustice if the revenge for a lost lawsuit may take the form of the imprisonment of the successful party without trial. These are the surmises that dog the steps of those who dread the light, and prefer secret accusations to a prosecution in open court.

Sirdar Natu himself gives us an account of his conduct during the plague. It is confirmed by the correspondence we published in November, 1897:—

> I served as a volunteer since the appearance of the plague and before the Plague Committee was constituted, down to the time of my arrest and imprisonment, and during all that time I have helped the plague authorities, and instead of simply saying that I did not obstruct plague measures, I beg to point to the correspondence which at different times passed between me and the Poona Municipality, the Poona Plague Committee, and the District Magistrate. This correspondence, if Government were to go over it, would convince them about the truth of my statement that I have helped plague measures with all my strength. I promised the Municipality to give my land rent-free for a segregation camp, and the promise was also fulfilled. As to what help I rendered as a volunteer my letters to the District Magistrate will bear ample testimony. I helped the Hindu Hospital from the first, till I lost my liberty, in all matters from looking for a suitable plot of ground onwards. This I hope will convince the Government that instead of obstructing plague measures I always helped them forward. If the above-mentioned reasons are taken into consideration Government will think with me that it is most urgent that those who have brought false charges against us must be put on their trial, and their statements thoroughly investigated.

But neither the accusers nor the accused have had their evidence tested in a court of law. It is worthy of note that the younger brother who has shared the same fate as the elder took no part whatsoever in the plague measures.

The letters contain many references to the hardships which Sirdar Natu had to undergo. It so happens that he is a man much devoted to the performance of his religious duties and the observance of all the practices imposed on him by his caste. Now according to the Regulation of 1827 the Government are bound to take into consideration the habits and rank in society of those imprisoned under it, which should surely include arrangements for everything required by the prisoner's caste and religion; yet these, on the contrary, were made the means of aggravating the inconveniences of Sirdar Natu's imprisonment. He was not allowed to have a cook of suitable caste in the prison, and was therefore obliged to cook his own food—work to which, as he said, he was not accustomed. Sometimes an element of comedy entered into the replies to his requests. Thus the prison superintendent was graciously pleased to allow the prisoner a punkha, but had no power of himself to give permission for anyone to go to the prisoner's room to pull it. Great care was taken as to the quality of the literature supplied, and it is unnecessary to say that so dangerous a publication as INDIA failed to reach the prisoner. But these were trifles. Here is the description the elder Natu gives of his quarters in the gaol to the Inspector-General of Prisons:—

> In December last you saw the place in which I am at present imprisoned. There is not a single shady tree in the whole compound. The building faces the east and consequently is heated and does not cool down till sunset. The western block in which I am living is heated at noon and does not cool down till nine or ten at night. The rooms are extremely small, measuring only ten by eight. There being no ceiling when once the roof is heated I am exposed to the hot breeze through the ventilators and consequently it is extremely troublesome to live here.

It is no wonder that the prisoner found himself suffering

from sore eyes and headache, and that the doctor urged his removal. And this is the place in which a prisoner against whom nothing had been proved and who had never been brought to trial was confined by an enlightened and civilised Government.

When after many weary months in gaol the Natus came forth again into the world—they have not been yet set free—they found their mother dead. Their moveable property had been illegally sequestrated; for the Regulation only allowed immoveable property to be dealt with by the Government. Even when the moveable property was ordered to be restored it was long before the whole of it was given back. Moreover, far from being set free the prisoners were confined to a particular district, Belgaum, and were threatened, apparently without any legal authority, with a return to gaol if their conduct was not approved by the Government. When they reached Belgaum they were required to live within the bounds of the Fort, although there was nothing to that effect in the Government order. Soon afterwards the plague reached Belgaum. People were attacked on every side, some of them near neighbours of the Natus. All who could took refuge in flight; but the Natus and their families, who were unwilling to leave them after their long separation, were kept for weeks in the infected area. Even now, though they have been allowed to change their place of residence they have not been set free, but are still held at the disposal of the authorities. The Government wearied by their importunity has apparently given up replying to their petitions. Above all their constant prayer to be brought to trial, to be given that opportunity of answering any charge that may be brought against them, and of meeting their accusers face to face, which is afforded to the meanest criminal, is persistently refused; so that they remain a standing examplar of the falsehood of our boast of justice and liberty. Their case is still, as it has been since their arrest, at once a menace to the British Empire in India and a disgrace to the British name.

LAND LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

By Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E.

(Late Officiating Commissioner of Orissa; sometime Member of the Legislative Council of Bengal.)

THE Hon. Subha Rao, Member of the Legislative Council of Madras, recently asked a question in the Council enquiring when the report of the Select Committee on the Tenancy Bill would be submitted, and whether that Bill would come up before the Council this Session. The Government was not in a position to say when the report would be received. This delay is curious after the manner in which the Bill has been hurried lately by holding meetings of the Council in the hills. One does not however regret the present delay if it leads to a mature consideration of the Bill. The Tenancy Bill for the Central Provinces has been passed in a hurry, and contains some provisions confiscating the rights of cultivators; and these should be avoided in the Madras Bill.

The enormous enhancement of revenue secured by recent settlements must necessarily impoverish the cultivators and make famines inevitable after each bad harvest in future. In many places sixty per cent. of the rents is demanded as the Government revenue, with an addition of about 12½ per cent. as taxes or rates, so that both the *Malguzar* and the *Rayat* have been ground down to the dust. If there had been an independent enquiry in the Central Provinces by a commission of experienced men into the results of the recent Central Provinces settlements, we should have known more clearly the causes of famines in India than we are likely to know from an examination of relief operations by a famine commission.

In his distress and difficulty the tenant had one remedy: he could always mortgage his land and borrow. With a kindness which seems like a refinement of cruelty the Central Provinces Tenancy Bill has placed restrictions on this power. The Indian tenant, who is the most provident and frugal and abstemious on earth, is represented as a foolish, extravagant and improvident being who does not know what is best for him, and who is always needlessly falling into the hands of the money-lender out of perverse and sheer stupidity! And to save him from his own folly it is necessary to restrict his power of mortgaging his lands to the money-lender. In other words the Government, after imposing a demand which is bound to lead the tenant to indebtedness, has legislated so as to diminish the value of the tenant's only property on earth, and to restrict his power to obtain a loan in times of difficulty. The results have been disastrous, as we learn frequently from the Central Provinces.

This atrocious blunder should be avoided in Madras, and an endeavour should be made in the Council to win back and place on the Statute Book the right which Lord Ripon gave by an executive order, viz., that variations in prices should be the only ground of enhancement in future settlements of the land revenue. *The rayat's rent should be fixed and unalterable except on the sole ground of increase in prices.* This right was granted by Lord Ripon by an executive order, but executive orders in India, often issued with a flourish of trumpets, are as often withdrawn quietly and without a sound. An endeavour should be made now in Madras in connexion with this Tenancy Bill to have this right of the tenant recognised in the body of the law. Nothing else can save the people from continuous and harassing enhancements leading to the impoverishment of the cultivators, to famines and deaths.

RÂMAKRISHNA.[1]

IN preparing for Western readers this charming account of the life and personality of Râmak*r*ish*n*a, Dr. Max Müller has had two objects in view. The first, which may be called his negative or destructive aim, is to show from a contemporary example the difficulty of arriving at the truth about the founder of a new religion, or about anyone who impresses his fellow-men as enjoying a special inspiration or possessing supernatural powers. In matters of historic evidence we do not, the professor thinks, realise in the least the powerful barrier interposed between us and the absolute truth by the "dialogic process," the subtle variations to which a fact is liable every time it passes through a human consciousness. He illustrates this admirably by the famous telegram from Ems which precipitated the Franco-German war, "What do we know of it, even after Bismarck's own confessions, beyond what he thought and spoke in his own mind, beyond what he said to my friend Abeken, who wrote it out and sent it off, beyond what the people in Germany and France thought of it, said of it, made of it, whether as justifying or condemning the war that sprang out of it? Shall we ever know the *ipsissima verba* of Benedetti, his tone of voice, the tone of voice in the Emperor's reply, the consternation or chuckle when the iron chancellor heard from all parts of Europe the echo of his own words and thoughts?" But nowhere is this "dialogic process" so rapidly and powerfully operative as in the sphere of the supernatural. "There is nothing so human as religion"—so runs the professor's striking paradox. The life of Râmak*r*ish*n*a which follows is based on material supplied partly by Indian books and newspapers and partly by his disciples—especially the Swami Vivekânanda, whose own treatise on Yoga philosophy was reviewed in INDIA at the time of its publication (Sept., 1896). Râmak*r*ish*n*a was one of those ascetics who are known as Sannyâsins, Mahâtmans, or Yogins. He was born in 1833 and died in 1886. In his eagerness to attain the highest religious experience he underwent twelve years of the most painful ascetic exercises. "He never had a wink of sound sleep during those years, could not even doze, but his eyes would remain always open and fixed." He practised in turn many different religions, had visions and realisations of all of them; and amongst other experiences "saw Jesus in a vision, and for three days could think of nothing and speak of nothing but Jesus and His love." Then he came to the conclusion that all religions are true, but that each reveals only one aspect of the "undivided and eternal existence, knowledge and bliss." He attained to great Yoga powers, but did not care to show them. Those who went to him, however, found abundant proofs of his possessing the faculties of thought-reading, prediction, healing diseases by the will, and the like. He attracted the notice and admiration of such religious reformers as Keshub Chunder Sen and Mozoomdar, and in later life preached to large audiences in Bengali. His sayings were collected by some of his pupils, and have been trans-

[1] "Râmak*r*ish*n*a: His Life and Sayings." By the Right Hon. F. Max Müller, K.M. (London and Bombay: Longmans.)

lated into Sanscrit and English. In telling the story of Râmakrishna's life as it has been told to him Dr. Max Müller has purposely refrained from the attempt to reject all elements that will seem incredible to English readers, though he assures them that the mythological accretions which attach to the accounts published of him in India are much more numerous.

But besides the merely negative aim of showing that "there is nothing so human as religion," a positive and constructive purpose is kept clearly in view. That purpose is to interpret the Vedânta philosophy to English readers, to show that it is worthy of their respect and even of their serious study, and to prove the depth and universality of the ideas of Godhead and holiness that lie at the root of the most diverse religions. Dr. Max Müller's account of the Vedânta philosophy, though necessarily brief, is distinguished by his well-known gift of lucid exposition. This is how he sums up the conclusion reached by the Vedânta: "Man is man phenomenally, the world is world phenomenally, the gods of the world are gods phenomenally, but in full reality all are the Godhead, call it Âtman or Brahman, metamorphosed and hidden for a time by Avidyâ or Nescience, but always recoverable by Vidyâ or by the Vedânta-philosophy." Pleading for a historical study of Indian philosophy, he warns Europeans against being swayed by every philosophical idea that announces itself as new, and illustrates the ease with which ancient ideas are accepted by unhistorical minds as absolute novelties by reference to the widely-spread impression that Darwin was the discoverer of "evolution". Râmakrishna was neither a learned student of the Vedânta, nor an original discoverer of truths hitherto unknown. But his doctrines find their historical explanation in the Vedânta, the philosophy that was in the very air he breathed; whilst, on the other hand, he gave them new vitality and force by his own extraordinary personality.

The "Sayings" of Râmakrishna are of very diverse merit. Dr. Max Müller has preferred to publish 'wheat and tares' together, as he says, out of regard to historical truth, rather than make a selection which should represent Râmakrishna in his best aspects only. Some of the maxims are both profound and beautiful, and the parables are delightful in their Oriental colour and vividness. The story of Nârada's conceit and the reproof with which it was visited (No. 167) is exquisite. One would like to know how many of the sayings and parables are original. Some obviously are not. The apologue of the four blind men who touched different parts of the elephant and so arrived at very different ideas about him is found in the Masnavi (p. 122 of Mr. Whinfield's translation). In any case, this record of Râmakrishna is worth studying, and the final impression left by it is not negative but positive—an impression of "a light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

MAHA-BHARATA.[1]

THE appearance of a condensed translation of the "Maha-bharata" in so popular a series as the "Temple Classics" is a contribution of some importance towards that "interpretation of India to England" which the best minds in both countries are so anxious to bring about. Translations of the sacred books of the East into English are happily no new thing; but their appeal is almost entirely to the student. For the first time the wider English public is presented in a cheap and attractive form with a spirited rendering in verse of an Indian epic, which it can read with the enjoyment with which it reads a verse translation of the Iliad or Odyssey.

In order to attract the European reader, Mr. Romesh Dutt has wisely recognised the necessity for condensation. The "Maha-bharata" runs to 90,000 couplets, about seven times the length of the Iliad and the Odyssey put together. The great epics of Greece retain their power, even over a generation that is always in a hurry, because of the swiftness of their narrative. But to the Oriental story-teller time, in the vulgar phrase, was never "an object." Besides this, whatever truth there may be in modern theories of the composition of the Iliad, there can be little doubt that the "Maha-bharata" has grown into its present shape by innumerable accretions. At any rate it is not merely a poem as the modern reader understands poetry, but includes passages from legal and moral codes and rules of caste, whilst "the crystal rill of the epic itself was all but lost in an unending morass of religious and didactic episodes, legends, tales and traditions." "If the religious works of Hooker and Jeremy Taylor," says Mr. Dutt, "the philosophy of Hobbes and Locke, the commentaries of Blackstone and the ballads of Percy, together with the tractarian writings of Newman, Keble, and Pusey, were all thrown into blank verse and incorporated with the 'Paradise Lost,' the reader would scarcely be much to blame if he failed to appreciate that delectable compound." Englishmen owe some gratitude to Mr. Dutt for the service he has performed in setting free the poetry from the other elements in the amalgam. There is a sense in which the "Maha-bharata" has claims upon their study and respect not possessed by any European epic. It is still what Homer is no longer, what even Virgil and Dante have never been—the Bible of a nation. Of the hold which the "Maha-bharata" has upon India Mr. Dutt bears witness in some striking sentences. "The Hindu scarcely lives, man or woman, high or low, educated or ignorant, whose earliest recollections do not cling round the story and the characters of the great epics. The almost illiterate oil-manufacturer or confectioner of Bengal spells out some modern translation of the 'Maha-bharata' to while away his leisure hour. The tall and stalwart peasantry of the North-West know of the five Pandav brothers, and of their friend the righteous Krishna. The people of Bombay and Madras cherish with equal ardour the story of the righteous war." When finally it is remembered that the nation which so venerates the poem is one whose thoughts, feelings and traditions Englishmen are bound by the most solemn obligations to try to understand, the extent of Mr. Dutt's service becomes apparent.

Quite apart from its religious and national significance, the "Maha-bharata" has literary qualities which give it a place among the world's great epics. Its story is certainly not lacking in epic dignity and interest—the bitter rivalry between the sons of Dhrita-rashtra and the five sons of Pandu, the fatal game by which Yudhishthir forfeits his kingdom, the long banishment of the sons of Pandu, the terrible war in which they recover their rights; ample material is here for a poet, and the poet is worthy of his theme. The characters of the warriors are all distinctly conceived. The devotion of the women is tenderly and beautifully imagined. And the poem moves through scenes of Oriental loveliness steeped in a mystical atmosphere of romantic beauty.

Mr. Dutt has elected to reduce the compass of his translation by the exclusion not merely of non-poetical elements, but also it would appear of what is already familiar to the European reader. Thus he has excluded Krishna's discourse on the great principles of faith and duty, the famous Bhagavad-Gita; the beautiful episode of Nala and Damayanti, translated by Dean Milman; and the two concluding books, the "Great Journey" and the "Ascent to Heaven," translated by Sir Edwin Arnold. It is difficult not to regret the exclusion of these last books, which besides being beautiful in themselves seem necessary to the completion of the story; but Mr. Dutt is of opinion that the real epic ends with the restoration of the Pandav brothers to their earthly kingdoms, not with their attainment of immortality. The metre used throughout is that which is familiar to English readers as the metre of "Locksley Hall." Some idea of Mr. Dutt's skill in handling it will be given by a few lines taken almost at random from the episode of Savitri, that marvellously beautiful allegory of wifely devotion:—

"Cruel ache is on my forehead, fond and ever faithful wife,
And I feel a hundred needles pierce me and torment my life,
And my feeble footsteps falter, and my senses seem to reel,
Fain would I beside thee linger, for a sleep doth o'er me steal."
With a wild and speechless terror pale Savitri held her lord,
On her lap his head she rested and she laid him on the sward,
Narad's fatal words remembered as she watched her husband's head,
Burning lip and pallid forehead, and the dark and creeping shade,
Clasped him in her beating bosom, kissed his lips with panting breath,
Darker grew the lonesome forest, and he slept the sleep of death!

Of harsh or halting lines there are very few; but the scansion of "why this unmerited pain" (p. 53) seems to involve a misplaced accent. We hope too that Mr. Dutt will emend one or two expressions in the second edition

[1] "Maha-bharata": The Epic of Ancient India, Condensed into English verse. By Romesh Dutt, C.I.E. (London: J. M. Dent and Co.)

which so fascinating a volume ought speedily to reach; "wipe" (p. 54) is hardly permissible in the sense of "wipe away," and there is no present participle "belowing" (p. 61). In so lengthy a translation into an acquired language the wonder is not that there should be one or two solecisms or metrical slips but that there should be so few.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, January 5.—News reached London of an engagement which took place on December 26 between Colonel Lewis's force and a large number of Dervishes under the Emir Ahmed Fedil. Most of the Dervishes were on an island in the Nile some way south of Khartum when Colonel Lewis attacked them. After severe fighting, in which 500 of them were killed, their position was taken and 1,500 were made prisoners. Their leader, who had watched the fight from the further bank of the river, fled with a small force when he saw that the day was lost. On the British side 27 men were killed and 124 wounded, including Major Fergusson, of the Grenadier Guards, and six officers of the Egyptian army.—Lord Cromer addressed a body of sheikhs and notables at Omdurman and explained to them the benefits that they would receive from British rule. Their religion would not be interfered with, and there would be equal justice for all—rich and poor.

A Commission representing all parties in Crete was entrusted with the task of drawing up a Constitution for submission to the Assembly, which was to meet in a few weeks' time. Owing to the distress among the peasants the British Consul in Crete urged the Duke of Westminster's Committee to make a special effort to relieve them; and the committee were trying to raise £5,000 from which to make small loans to the destitute.

General Otis telegraphed to the Government from the Philippines that he suspected Aguinaldo, the leader of the Filipinos, to be plotting an attack on Manila, and that he thought of arresting him. The Spanish Government was still trying to obtain the release of the prisoners held by the insurgents. Aguinaldo declined to treat with Madrid for the release of the imprisoned monks, since they declared they were subjects of the Pope. He was willing to negotiate with the Vatican about them.

FRIDAY, January 6.—The Tsar's Eirenicon was printed textually in a Parliamentary Paper issued by the Foreign Office. This also contained a letter from Lord Salisbury expressing the sympathy of the Government with the objects and intentions of the Tsar—a sympathy, the Prime Minister said, shared equally by public opinion in Great Britain—undertaking to send a British representative to the conference; and asking for some information as to the special points which that conference would be invited to consider.

A Parliamentary Paper issued to-day dealt with British grievances in Madagascar. It showed that in July last Lord Salisbury addressed a serious protest to the French Government against infringement of the rights of English commerce in the island. Special complaint was made about the same time of a circular instructing officials to induce the natives to use only goods of French manufacture. An instance was given in the paper of a French Administrator who informed the native traders of his district that they must only buy and sell with French merchants, and that if they did not obey they would be imprisoned in irons. In November a protest was made among several other complaints against the decree which the Governor - General issued in September with the object of reserving for French vessels the coasting trade, and that between Madagascar and neighbouring islands. Ten days ago the British Ambassador in Paris was informed that the decree had never been acted upon, and that it had now been revoked. It did not appear that the other protests had had any result.

The Aylesbury election took place. The Hon. Lionel Rothschild, Liberal Unionist, was returned unopposed.

Lord Cromer, in his speech at Khartum on Thursday at the laying of the foundation stone of the Gordon Memorial College, said its object would not be to Anglicise the Sudanese, but to train their minds and to give them useful, practical knowledge. The teaching would, as far as possible, be in Arabic, and the college would be wholly undenominational.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston formally assumed the office and state of Governor-General at Calcutta, and Lord Elgin left Government House.

SATURDAY, January 7.—The Queen telegraphed to Lord Cromer an expression of her deep interest in the welfare of the new Gordon College. Lord Cromer left Omdurman on his return to Cairo. Lord Kitchener had gone up the Blue Nile on a tour of inspection. A detachment of 250 men of the Royal Irish Fusiliers was ordered from Alexandria to Khartum.

Immediately after the issue of the proclamation published by General Otis, the Filipino leader Aguinaldo caused to be posted in Manila a manifesto in which he declared that he never agreed to recognise the sovereignty of the Americans in the Philippines, and he protested against the assumption by General Otis of the title of military governor of the islands. He asserted that the Americans promised their co-operation in aiding the Filipinos to obtain independence, protested solemnly against the intrusion of the American Government, and called on the insurgents to work together with all their strength in the cause of absolute independence. General Otis "attached no importance" to the manifesto, which he said did not represent the opinion of the better classes among the Filipinos. He still hoped for a pacific solution.—Naval and military reinforcements were being sent from the United States to the Philippines. Aguinaldo's agent was in Washingon, trying to obtain recognition of the insurgent Government.

A Russophobe correspondent who had been travelling for two months through European Russia stated that feverish haste was being shown in the work at the naval dockyards; that the number of men enrolled for the army and navy in October and November was larger than in any previous year; that reinforcements were being sent to the Far East as fast as they could be transported; and that the garrisons on the Russo-Turkish frontier in the Caucasus had of late been largely increased.

Count Francis Karolyi, Attaché to the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in London, was found dead on Friday evening in his rooms in Piccadilly with a bullet-wound in his head, and the circumstances led to the supposition that he committed suicide.

MONDAY, January 9.—It was reported from Manila that the situation at Iloilo remained extremely critical. The streets were barricaded, foreigners were seeking refuge on board the British cruiser "Bonaventure," and the banks were shipping their treasure in the United States cruiser "Newport." President M'Kinley's proclamation was received with ridicule, and conciliation was declared to be impossible. Intense excitement prevailed in Manila.

The resignation by M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire of his office as President of one of the Chambers of the Court of Cassation, and the statements he made in an interview published to-day, created a great impression in Paris. M. de Beaurepaire indulged in a bitter attack on President Loew, and on M. Bard, the Judge of the Court who acted as reporter on the Dreyfus case. He said he was a Chauvinist, an old soldier, and "on seeing magistrates of the Court failing in respect for the army in favour of a traitor he had his heart torn to pieces." His personal dignity no longer permitted him to remain a gagged witness of certain incidents which happened before his eyes. His protest alone could be of use, and this was the cause of his resignation. Whatever happened, he would defend the cause of justice, he would strike as worthless the judgment that was being prepared, and would avenge the army and its chiefs for the sufferings they were compelled to endure in silence. M. Lebret, Minister of Justice, who was also interviewed, said he had never seen M. de Beaurepaire, was entirely ignorant of his intentions, but would give explanations to the Chamber alone, as soon as the opportunity was allowed him.

An inquest on the body of Count Francis Karolyi, Civil Attaché to the Austro-Hungarian Embassy, was held at his residence in Piccadilly. Evidence was given by the valet of the deceased, medical witnesses, and others; and it was stated that a letter addressed by Count Karolyi on the afternoon of his death to Count Mensdorff at the Embassy, gave directions as to the disposal of his body, and apologised for the trouble he was causing. There was no absolute statement of an intention to commit suicide; but the letter was meaningless unless it involved that. The jury found that the deceased committed suicide whilst temporarily insane.

TUESDAY, January 10.—M. de Beaurepaire's deposition before M. Mazeau, the First President of the Court of Cassation, in consequence of the order given to that magistrate by the Minister of Justice to enquire into the charges brought by M. de Beaurepaire against M. Bard, was published in Paris. It stated that on November 24 M. de Beaurepaire was working in his study at the Palais de Justice—the room having on the two previous days been given up to the use of Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart—when M. Bard entered in his Court robes. He stopped short, as if surprised to see M. de Beaurepaire, and said, as he withdrew, "I thought there was a prisoner here." This incident, M. de Beaurepaire said, produced a painful impression upon him. He proceeded to relate various stories he had heard of courtesies shown by M. Bard and President Loew to Picquart, and of the indignation felt and expressed by the servants of the Court at this conduct of their chiefs. M. de Beaurepaire sent to M. Mazeau a supplementary declaration denouncing President Loew for having declared that his deposition was "indescribable" and revealed only paltry matters. He accused M. Loew of partisanship, and asserted that his conduct and that of M. Bard had discredited the Court of Cassation in public opinion.—It was announced that M. Mazeau would assume the Presidency of the Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation as soon as it had concluded the enquiry in which it was at present engaged.

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain began their annual conference in Edinburgh. Mr. B. Pickard, M.P., president of the federation, occupied the chair. There were 55 delegates representing 408,651 workers. The president in his address claimed that the federation had established the great principle of a *minimum* living wage, while those outside the federation had been going down. The idea that higher prices could not

be paid for getting coal in this country on account of the low wages paid on the Continent he characterised as a delusion which had been effectually dispelled. He criticised the Workmen's Compensation Act as most contentious, fruitful of litigation, and harmful in creating bad feeling, and urged the necessity of an amending Act. After expressing opposition to the idea of a federation of trades at the present time, Mr. Pickard closed with some references to the political situation, and urged that support should in future be withheld from any party in the State refusing to make themselves the representatives of the workers.

WEDNESDAY, January 11.—M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire published further charges against President Loew and the Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation. They were of the same trivial and hearsay character as those he had previously formulated.

President M'Kinley transmitted to the Senate the nomination of Mr. Choate as Ambassador to Great Britain.

Sir John Gorst, speaking at Bradford on the subject of education, said the chaos in education was only an instance of the chaos existing in local government generally. It arose from the incapacity of modern Governments and Parliaments to frame satisfactory schemes of domestic administration, and from a rooted distrust of local government which largely obtained among the governing classes. He discussed the effect of the existing system of administration on two classes of children—the derelict million who ought to be in the schools and were not, and the picked children selected for higher education. The pauper and criminal classes were largely recruited from the former, and to deal with it there was needed a strong central department and strong local authorities in co-operation. He contended that for the purposes of secondary education town and county councils were more suitable authorities than School Boards, but anticipated that Parliament would probably wait till the local authorities themselves had come to some agreement on that point, and would then give effect to it.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL BILL

RUSHED THROUGH THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

FURTHER PUBLIC PROTEST.

[BY CABLE, FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

CALCUTTA, January 9.

Another largely attended, enthusiastic, and representative public meeting has been held here at the house of the Notary Public, Mr. Gopinath Chandra, to protest against the Calcutta Municipal Bill.

Large ratepayers, including Indian merchants and tradesmen, took part in the meeting.

A resolution was adopted protesting against the unusually rapid progress of the Bill before the Select Committee, and a memorial was adopted with reference to the building sections of the measure.

Dr. Lall Madhab Mukerjea, Rai Bahadur, presided.—*By Indo-European Telegraph.*

LORD ELGIN'S FAREWELL.

MORE OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW."

Lord Elgin, in his speech, pleaded with considerable eloquence and force for a "stable exchange." That would be very desirable, everybody admits, could it be attained by legitimate means; but what opponents of Sir James Westland's policy have always maintained is, that the means adopted by the Government have not been legitimate. They have "cooked" the Exchange, to use a market vulgarism, and have done so at the expense of the Indian trader. The ex-Viceroy declared that the Government "has certainly never taken any steps to create in the market a condition of stringency," and does not hold to the view that it has anything to gain by making such a condition. What are the facts? Is it not the case that money during the busy season has again and again ruled from 12 to 15 per cent. on the exchanges of Calcutta and Bombay, solely because the Government of India determined to restrict its sales of council drafts in London with a view to prop up the rate of exchange? "Twice during the last two years," Lord Elgin went on to say, "has the Government obtained the aid of the Legislature to enable it to make the currency reserve available for the purpose of relieving the existing stringency." That stringency was created by stopping the coinage of silver in 1893, and it was "relieved," or attempted to be relieved, chiefly by creating new paper money. However it may be glossed over, this scarcely looks sound finance.

But the ex-Viceroy has still another plea in justification or extenuation. His Government has again and again been accused, he says, of hampering the trade of India by its attempts to fix the exchange value of the rupee at 1s. 4d. This cannot be true, he argues, because the trade of India is flourishing now in a manner that abundantly proves it to have been in no way hurt by the measures adopted. This conclusion seems to us to have been arrived at on an extremely narrow view of the facts. Grant that the trade of India, and in particular the export trade of India, has been stimulated since the close of the famine to an unusual height of prosperity, can any sensible man maintain for a moment that the elevation of the rupee has effected this happy change? Again, what are the facts? India has obtained a considerable share in the profitable trade which arose with those European countries that were short of food after the bad harvest of 1897. Australia simultaneously was suffering from droughts and unable to take any share in filling the granaries of Europe with grain European fields did not yield. Some of the colonies had even to become importers, and, therefore, India shared with the United States in making good the deficiency. The trade thus induced was a godsend, if you will, but not a product of a high exchange. To count upon it as such or as something to be continued for a series of years, is to exhibit economic blindness of unusual intensity. All that has happened is a staving off of the crisis by the help of misfortunes elsewhere. A few years of good harvests in Europe would more than obliterate the passing gain to India by the bad one of 1897, which happened to coincide with good crops in India following its period of famine.

Lord Elgin unconsciously gave us another kind of explanation of Indian prosperity in dwelling upon the wonderful expansion of her railway system which has taken place during his five years' rule. The President of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Montague Turner, summed up this railway policy in stating that 3,500 miles of new line had been constructed in that time, while a further 3,000 miles have been sanctioned. Whose money built these railways? That of the Indian natives? No, it all came from the United Kingdom. Capital, in other words, has been poured into India, bad exchange or good, and in proportion to the amount raised by the various railway companies, under Government guarantee or by private enterprise, has been the stimulus given to Indian imports or the relief afforded to the already excessive burdens imposed by British capital invested in the peninsula. "We want more of this capital," his lordship repeatedly said. This is the parrot cry of all Indian rulers. But why cannot they draw out the capital of the Natives? There is a large wealthy class in India, from dependent princes downwards, through all grades of its complicated social system. Whence comes it that none of this native capital, or almost none, is available for these public works? We should begin to believe not only in the beneficence of our rule in India, but in its stability, if we saw these public works, undeniably good in themselves and sometimes at least profitable, being provided out of the wealth accumulated within the country itself, and now lying idle there. Mr. Dunning McLeod and others have given currency to the estimate that some three hundred million pounds sterling of gold is hoarded in India. Assume that estimate to be approximately correct, and what a frightful waste it implies? There must surely be something cankerous in our system of dominion which produces this result. We secure order all over the country, but there is no confidence, else why does not native capital come to our call and find remunerative investment in the public works we are so diligent in creating?

It ought to be plain enough to all people of common sense that the system of developing India by means of money borrowed in England must some day or other produce a crisis there. The compensating benefits to certain classes in the community given by increased facilities of transport and wider markets cannot be measured against the impoverishing effect of the steady and increasing drain of interest and dividend money from the country each succeeding year. The departing Viceroy deprecated any comparison between the condition of the Indian working classes and those in other countries, but there was no necessity for him to do this. So far as we know comparisons of a misleading kind have not been instituted by anyone at all acquainted with the facts. But he himself had to admit that taxation could not be increased in India except in one way, by successive revisions of the land rent, and we know from statistics that the Government of India from time to time publish what those revisions mean. They mean a slow but terrible increase in the poverty of the cultivator, and this is just what we should expect from the conditions imposed upon them by our system of developing the dependency. We enrich the few and impoverish the many. Be the crop years good or bad the rent is exacted, or held in suspense one year to be collected the next. Nothing can be remitted if by any possibility the money can be squeezed out of the Native, because fixed charges, interest, dividends on British capital, have to be remitted to London with the regularity of an automatic machine. We are conducting this part of our empire on the credit system, like most other parts, and straining its resources in so doing. Not all that Lord Elgin or any other apologist of the Indian bureaucracy can say suffices to hide this fact, and in it lies the danger of the future—a danger which neither a "gold standard" without a gold currency, a fixed exchange, the emission of paper money, or any other trick of finance can do more than stave off. (January 6.)

THE "SPECTATOR."

It is very hard to get a hearing for a reform which would, we believe, be of great advantage to India—viz., an extension of the term for which the Viceroyalty is held. The Viceroys do not like to suggest it, because they would seem to be pleading their own cause and would be accused of interested motives; and Premiers do not like to consider it, because they value this, the greatest appointment in their gift, as patronage, and think vaguely that if there is any necessity they can extend the term of an individual Viceroy. Yet the present system is obviously almost absurd. The appointment is only for five years, of which one is lost in obtaining familiarity with most complex work of a kind in which Europeon experience is rather

a drawback than a help, and another in learning to know who are the safe, who are the original, and who are the dangerous counsellors of the Empire, many of them in positions which render personal intercourse next to impossible. A Viceroy, for instance, often speaks but twice to the Governor of Bombay—on his arrival and his departure—and may never see, usually never does see the Governor of Madras at all. He has, be it remembered, no Cabinet, for the Secretaries of State, as we call them, are merely his chief clerks, without responsibility; and the Members of Council, though the work is by consent distributed among them, are only collectively responsible. The Viceroy, in fact, unless, like Lord Dalhousie, an autocrat by the will of heaven as well as his own temperament, is only real master of his work for three years, during which he must fritter away endless time in convincing the India Office that his proposals are expedient and safe. At the end of that time, when everything he wishes to try is just beginning to be tried, or to exhibit results, he departs for ever, to be succeeded by another chief who may be different from him in all respects, who probably thinks differently as to all ideals to be attained, and who, at all events, has to go through the same wearisome process of practical education. The Viceroyalty of India, in fact, which is so often described as a kingship, is in reality always a regency, with the heir nearly grown to man's estate. If a Viceroy's plans succeed, another reaps the benefit of them; if they fail, he is exempt from all the consequences of his blunders. Lord Elgin will not see the results either of the currency system which he inaugurated, or of the frontier war, which, against his better judgment—it is his own statement—he felt compelled to sanction. A Viceroy can now form no school of subordinates, he can carry out no policy requiring time, he can, in truth, found nothing, and has done well if he can hand over the Empire uninjured to his successor. We ask any statesman alive whether in Europe he would dream of establishing a constitution of which these were the inevitable results. It is mere folly to say that at home the same system prevails, for premiers are often changed within five years. The sovereign is not changed. The bureaucracy is not changed. The most influential representatives are not changed. The people are not changed. And the premiers themselves were born and bred in the country they administer. In India there is no sovereign; the higher bureaucrats come and go like shadows; there are no representatives; and the people never interfere except by a very infrequent veto such as that which at this moment is pulverising the plague laws. And the Viceroys are of a foreign race, another language, and totally different systems of ideas. We are quite aware of the usual argument that India uses up Viceroys and constantly requires "a fresh mind" at the helm, but we cannot believe that a system so opposed to all historic experience and all the maxims of statecraft is a good one, or that a rapidity of change which would be considered ruinous in changeful Europe can be the best to apply to the affairs of a country on the unchanging Asiatic continent. Suppose Lord Cromer had been twice superseded, what would have been the situation in Egypt? Yet, compared with India, Egypt is what Holland is to the British Empire.

If we read Lord Elgin's farewell speech, which we have tried in another column to boil down, we shall find, we think, much evidence in support of the conclusion that the renewal of a Viceroy's term at least three times should be an etiquette only to be departed from on grounds of palpable necessity. Lord Elgin has not been one of the great Viceroys, but he has been a fair chief administrator through a period marked by some severe trials—the failure of the currency, the frontier war, the great famine, and the conflict between East and West as to the treatment of the plague. Distinctly unpopular at first owing to some personal peculiarities, he has evidently won a large measure of general confidence, is trusted as an efficient man of business, and is addressed by all manner of grave bodies in language which implies considerable regret at his departure. He is a considerate man, unwilling to hamper his successor, and his speech on taking leave is therefore unusually reticent; but it is evident that Lord Elgin had begun to form strong opinions about the best policy for Government to pursue. He doubts, we should say, the suitability of Simla as the official capital, and though he will not offend all great officials by denouncing it, he insists that the legislative centre shall not be transferred from Calcutta to the cloudy Olympus where the rulers of India, like the gods of Greece, "recline careless of mankind" toiling in the plains. He evidently disbelieves in peace upon the frontier, where the tribes, he says, are "wayward, wild, ignorant, and excitable," and is averse to any permanent measure—like annexation?—which will limit the Viceroy's freedom in dealing with their outbreaks. He is absolutely against fresh taxation, putting it indeed out of court with a vehemence which indicates that he thinks existing taxes very heavy and which may embarrass his successor, and looks for larger resources to an industrial development of India which he would promote by three policies—the adoption of a gold standard, a large but carefully considered extension of the railway system, and the attraction to India of great masses of unemployed English capital. We may not agree with all those ideas—we are not certain, for example, of the possibility of a gold standard for India—but it cannot be denied that taken together those ideas constitute a large scheme of policy, internal and external, slowly formed by close observation in the brain of a competent man, to whom everything must have been told. Of that large scheme not an item will be carried out unless Lord Curzon agrees with his predecessor, which he is in no way bound to do, nor compelled to do by any force. Unless Lord Elgin has an unusual gift of persuasiveness upon paper, which he probably has not, and has exerted it in abstract Minutes, for which he probably had not the time, all the experience he has gathered in years of steady watching is lost to India for ever. Lord Elgin will never be an English Secretary of State, and dignity will compel him not to accept a seat in the Council of India. There will be, because of his departure, as regards final conclusions, a solution of continuity in the Viceroyalty—a solution all the more complete because with him departs the financial member of Council, Sir James Westland. It is quite possible that Lord Curzon and Mr. Dawkins may be the superiors of both; but can anyone imagine an organisation which, as an organisation, inspires less hope?

Each Viceroyalty of India, under any circumstances, ought to be longer lived; but in the circumstances of India, its duration is exceptionally important. Everything that is English there flits. No man of the great corporation which administers the continent intends to remain for his life, no man founds a family, no man has any permanent relation whatsoever with the people. He performs the duty assigned him, always with assiduity, often with devotion, sometimes with singular energy and self-sacrifice, but he has no link with the past, no reason for care as regards the future. He is never stationed in the same county, often not in the same province, for more than ten years. What with deaths, promotions, and departures, the shifting of the *personnel* is incessant, and with it the alteration of local, as well as general, plans for improvement. Everything depends on individuals, and the individuals are always marching. Plans which have taken years to mature are arrested at the very moment of completion; ideas diffused for a period, and just on the point of acceptance, are contradicted by the next arrival; the Natives who have grown to influence under one "shadow" find the next "shadow" chilling to all their aspirations. A bridge w... be built by three "authorities" in succession each with a different view of bridge architecture, a school system will be petted for one five years and neglected for the next five; the very taxes are exacted in 1895 with severity, and in 1900 with a lenity which takes off half their weight—at least from the peasant's imagination. In such a panorama, always twirling when it is not shaking, there should be at least some fixed point, and the best would be the natural pivot, the character of the absolute Viceroy, who, remember, rules, and is intended to rule, not like Lord Salisbury, but like the German Emperor. To make of that pivot a centre of further motion, to change the man who initiates all legislation, who appoints and dismisses all great officers, who is, in fact, king in the older sense, every five years, seems to us the extremity of foolishness. That the Indian Empire survives it is true, but it is because the Indian Empire has in it some spring of vitality for which no man can account, not because it is well organised by the hands to whom, for unrevealed purposes, Providence has entrusted its control. (January 7.)

THE "CRITIC."

Nothing has become Lord Elgin in his Indian career like his leaving it. His own review of his term of office contained many statesmanlike declarations on Indian policy and finance, tempered with a commendable discretion. Had Lord Elgin a little more strength of character and initiative, he might with the knowledge of affairs he has gained in his administration, now make a very fair Governor-General. Unfortunately, mere discretion is too common a quality in the highest official ranks to suffice for a great Viceroy. His management-in-chief of the campaign against famine has been greatly to his credit, as also the stand he has made against further reckless tinkering with the coinage. Not so, however, his conduct of the frontier wars. As Lord Elgin said, it is often impossible for the Government to say when, how, or even why these smouldering fires of rebellion will leap into flame. It is all the more the business of the administration to be prepared to hold them in check when they do. It is in this that Lord Elgin has failed. One cannot hold a Viceroy personally responsible for everything, but if a man finds adverse interests too strong for him there is always one way in which the weakest may mark his dissatisfaction. As it is, he leaves without having made one resolute effort to amend the conditions of peasant life in the Punjab, or to clean out the rookeries of departmental India. Both these fields offer work ready to the hand of Lord Curzon. (January 7.)

THE "NEWCASTLE CHRONICLE."

The bimetallic fraternity will not derive much consolation from Lord Elgin's currency reference in his speech to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. He is evidently a convinced gold man; and the experience of the last five years has served simply to strengthen his opinions in this matter. The figures relating to the export trade of India, he points out, negative the conclusion that a stable exchange places an embargo upon the sale of Indian goods to the external world. Of course. The admirers of a fluctuating exchange are gamblers and protectionists, who fancy they see a short cut to wealth in a rupee of varying value, or who believe that a depreciating currency affords them a bounty. Perhaps it does for a time. But when have commercial gambling and bounties benefited trade in the long run? When Lord Elgin sees that three-fourths of the trade of India is conducted with gold-using countries, he finds it difficult to believe that India can reap anything but advantage from throwing in her lot with them. So do we. But it is less easy to agree with him when he urges that the Indian Government cannot hope to escape from its financial troubles by any roads which lead to increased taxation. It is exactly by such roads that a temporary escape has been obtained. To pretend that the artificial appreciation brought about in the rupee is not the equivalent of increased taxation is absurd. The rupee is intrinsically worth ninepence or thereabouts. The Indian Government, which has a monopoly of the manufacture of rupees, fixes the price arbitrarily at one and fourpence, and insists that taxes shall be paid in these coins. What is that but an increase of taxation? If Englishmen had to pay twenty-six shillings worth of gold for every sovereign they would soon learn whether their taxation had been increased or not. (January 5.)

THE "GLOBE."

While making every allowance for the abnormal difficulties Lord Elgin had to surmount, he cannot be assigned a place among the great viceroys of our Eastern Empire. No one questions that he laboured conscientiously and indefatigably for the relief of famine and the abatement of plague. He deserves credit too for recognising the vital importance of pushing forward railway extensions and irrigation works. But when it came to dealing with internal traitors and frontier foes Lord Elgin seemed quite unable to gauge the requirements of the situation. Disloyalty openly lifted its head and its

hand, until the Viceroy was at last compelled to see that to sprinkle sedition with rose-water merely stimulates its growth. He could not understand that the wishy-washy sentimentality of the political school to which he belonged would be interpreted by Natives of the Tilak sort as the submissiveness of fear. In the case of the frontier war his cardinal mistake lay in trusting everything to tribal promises. In his speech yesterday he expressed his conviction that do what we may we shall always have to make account with outbreaks "sudden, unforeseen, almost unaccountable." But why should they be unforeseen? Afridis and their congeners have such greedy appetites for rupees that it ought not to be either difficult or costly to organise an efficient intelligence department. But even that would be of little avail unless there was a force on the frontier always kept in readiness to strike instantly and effectually at revolt. Lord Elgin tells us that his policy was to avert internal disorder "by timely precautions, friendly and conciliatory counsels, and remedial measures." That sounds well enough as a programme, but neither Indian plotters nor Border irreconcilables appreciate mere phrases, and history will, when judging Lord Elgin's Viceroyship, find him blameworthy for wasting conciliatory counsels on people incapable of feeling the force of any argument not backed by the certainty of swift and sharp punishment if they transgressed the law. (January 3.)

[The *Globe* is an "Imperialist" organ.—Ed. INDIA.]

INDIA IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

"N. T." writes in the *Morning Leader* (January 11):—The latest news from Calcutta regarding the Calcutta Municipal Bill is that a public meeting, consisting chiefly of important ratepayers, has protested against the way in which it has been rushed through the Select Committee. This is the third public meeting of Calcutta ratepayers that has been held during the past few days to protest against the measure, but, so far as the ordinary channels of information are concerned, the British public has been kept completely in the dark. What is the meaning of this? Is the subject regarded as too insignificant for notice? Or is it thought that the wreckers of local self-government in India will more easily accomplish their purpose if, say, the friends of the London County Council know nothing of it? It was Lord George Hamilton and the Earl of Onslow who were most conspicuous in the attack upon the London County Council. Their designs were frustrated, because Londoners happen to have votes. But they are also Secretary and Under-Secretary for India, and can overthrow institutions in that unhappy country without hindrance and without remorse. Poona, Madras, and Bombay have already experienced the animosity of the enemies of popular government, but it is in Calcutta that the trump card is to be played. Here the control of the municipality is to be transferred to an official body, containing an impotent sprinkling of members nominated by the representatives of the ratepayers. The shadow of representation is left while the substance is taken away. The Bill was recently referred by the Bengal Legislative Council to a Select Committee, and the haste with which it is being disposed of suggests a desire to get rid of the matter before the opening of Parliament. It is to be hoped that immediately upon the reassembling of the House of Commons those who desire municipal self-government at home will make a spirited protest against the abolition of it in Calcutta.

From time to time comments have found their way into the English and the Indian Press upon the delay of the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, which was appointed at the suggestion of the Indian Parliamentary Committee nearly five years ago. Many of these complaints have been purely factitious. What matters is not that the Report should be produced by a certain date, but that it should make the right sort of recommendations. It is now stated that the able chairman of the Commission, Lord Welby, is "busily engaged" in preparing the Report. This is not exactly early news. The same statement was made by Mr. Arthur Balfour before the close of last Session, and he added that the draft report was to be issued to members of the Commission within a few days. The draft report, I believe, has not yet been issued, and some questions upon the matter are likely to be asked when the House meets. But, as I have said, it is not easy to see what is to be gained by hustling Lord Welby. Nobody who has not read the appalling volumes of evidence can have any notion of the magnitude of the task. Lord Welby has a way of doing his work thoroughly; and that takes time.

Apropos of the recent discussion of the treatment of British Indian subjects in South Africa and elsewhere it is odd that nobody has recalled Mr. Chamberlain's speech at the Jubilee Conference of Colonial Premiers held at the Colonial Office in June, 1897. So far as sentiments go, the speech leaves little to be desired. Here is the central passage:

> The United Kingdom owns as its brightest and greatest dependency that enormous Empire of India, with 300,000,000 of subjects, who are loyal to the Crown as you are yourselves, and among them are hundreds and thousands of men who are every whit as civilised as we are ourselves, who are, if that is anything, better born in the sense that they have older traditions and older families, who are men of wealth, men of cultivation, men of distinguished valour, men who have brought whole armies and placed them at the service of the Queen, and have in times of great difficulty and trouble, such for instance as on the occasion of the Indian Mutiny, saved the Empire by their loyalty. I say you who have seen all this cannot be willing to put upon those men a slight which I think is absolutely unnecessary for your purpose, and which would be calculated to provoke ill-feeling, discontent, irritation, and would be most unpalatable to the feelings not only of her Majesty the Queen, but of all her people.

Admirable sentiments, no doubt. Yet they do not seem to have prevented any of the colonies from adopting disgracefully repressive legislation against British Indians. Mr. Chamberlain now finds his hands tied in dealing with President Kruger by the lamentable example of British colonists. Indeed, it is openly stated in Australia that the Colonial Premiers, after their Conference with Mr. Chamberlain, agreed upon a concerted plan of campaign in the matter.

How many Englishmen realise that the two Natus, who were imprisoned without trial in the summer of 1897, have not yet been set free? They were originally arrested in the belief that they had had something to do with the murder of Lieut. Ayerst and Mr. Rand. Lord G. Hamilton stated as much in the House of Commons. When the real murderer was convicted and hanged, and not a jot of evidence could be discovered against the Natus, Lord G. Hamilton produced a revised charge—that they had intimidated a midwife, and hindered the plague measures at Poona. These charges, of course, would not have justified the use of *lettres de cachet* even if they had been proved. But they were promptly demolished. After many months' imprisonment the brothers were released from gaol. But they were still State prisoners, and were confined to Belgaum. When the plague broke out there their prison was further enlarged somewhat. But to this day they are State prisoners, with a grievous charge hanging over their heads. Yet they are not brought to trial, nor confronted with their accusers. Is this British justice and fair play?

The P. and O. s.s. "Peninsula" from Bombay arrived in London on January 8. Her list of passengers included the following names:—Major J. J. S. Donnet; Dr. W. Creser; Major R. James; Colonel E. C. Tate; Hon. Mr. N. Wadia; Dr. D. R. Wadia; Surg.-Col. Barker; Gen. G. S. Brooks; Mr. W. J. Kaye; Mr. Jeyen Osman Cin; Capt. Fischer; Capt. A. R. Bramming; Capt. S. Prince; Col. and Mrs. C. A. Mercer.

The s.s. "Palawan" (P. and O.), from Calcutta, arrived in London on January 5, with the following, among other passengers:—Mr. A. Zarab; Lieut. Roger, R.N.; Lord Ardee; Capt. Bomley, R.N.; and Mr. Kenion.

Lord Welby (writes the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*) is, I hear, busily engaged in preparing the long-expected report of the Royal Commission on the Military and Civil Expenditure of India. The delay that has occurred is now declared to have been due simply to the extraordinary difficulty of many of the questions that have to be dealt with in apportioning expenditure between England and India. There are certain home charges, such as pensions and expenditure on railway material and stores, which clearly fall upon India, but intricate questions arise in connexion with the financing of the garrison of India, the maintenance of the fortress of Aden, and the outlay on the fleet on the East Indian station. As may easily be imagined in the case of an enormous country like India, with far-spreading relationships and interests in east and west, it is nearly impossible to draw a sharp line of demarcation in national finance. At the same time, it is not to be denied that many abuses have crept into the system, and it is hoped that there is now a definite prospect that the more serious of these will be remedied.

To-day (said the same writer on January 10) the Fowler Committee resumed its sittings at the India Office. Sir Robert Giffen was the first witness, and he will be followed by Baron Alfred de Rothschild and Mr. Horace A. D. Seymour, deputy master of the Royal Mint. Mr. Seymour's evidence ought to be specially interesting. The nominal Master of the Mint is the Chancellor of the Exchequer. A telegram from India states that Mr. Risley, of the Bengal Government, has taken the place of the late Mr. Jacob as Finance Secretary to the Supreme Government. Mr. Dawkins leaves England in the first week of March to take up his appointment as Finance Minister.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

On Monday last, January 9, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal addressed a meeting at Ealing on behalf of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress on "England's Responsibility for India."

On Wednesday, January 11, a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee addressed a meeting at Torquay.

Next week Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will address a series of four meetings in the north of England.

Further meetings in January have been arranged at Burton-on-Trent, Padiham, Lewisham, Liverpool, and Wigan.

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BY ROBERT KNIGHT.

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